

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
----- 109730 /43
O 131326Z DEC 76
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4164

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 9872

NODIS

FOR AMB SCHAUFLE FROM WISNER

DEPT PASS LONDON FOR SEITZ

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK
SUBJECT: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: DEC 12 MEETING WITH IAN SMITH

REF: GENEVA 9867

1. I MET IAN SMITH AT THE AIRPORT FOR 10 MINUTES PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR SALISBURY. HE LOOKED TIRED AND DISPIRITED, BUT LISTENED CAREFULLY TO THE POINTS IN MY INSTRUCTIONS (THE BRITISH ALSO BELIEVE THAT SMITH THROUGHOUT HIS STAY IN GENEVA SEEMED MORE AGED AND WORN THAN THEY HAD EVER KNOWN HIM TO BE BEFORE, INCLUDING HIS LAST STAY IN GENEVA). ONCE I COMPLETED MY INSTRUCTIONS, SMITH SAID THAT "WE WILL PLAY THIS ALONG THE LINES YOU INDICATE." HE SAID HE HAD MET RICHARD AND DISCUSSED THE RECESS. HE HAD BEEN PLEASED TO LEARN THAT THE BRITISH WOULD BE DEVELOPING NEW IDEAS. HE HAD WARNED RICHARD, HOWEVER, OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF BREACH OF CONTRACT AND SAID THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO STUDY AFRESH AND WOULD GIVE NO COMMITMENT TO ACCEPTING AN ALTERNATIVE WHICH DID NOT PROCEED FROM THE FIVE POINTS WHICH HAD BROUGHT THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT TO GENEVA IN THE FIRST PLACE.

2. SMITH SAID HE WOULD BE BUSY THROUGHOUT THE ADJOURNMENT

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AND WOULD NOT "LEAVE ON DAY TO WASTE. I PLAN TO PROMOTE

THIS EXERCISE AND WILL LOOK AT A RANGE POSSIBILITIES."
HE REMARKED THAT RICHARD HAD LEFT HIM THE IMPRESSION
THE BRITISH WERE PREPARED TO MOVE AWAY FROM ANNEX C
AND TO THIS I REPLIED THAT NO FIRM DECISIONS HAD
BEEN TAKEN IN LONDON AND ASSURED HIM THAT WE WOULD BE
IN TOUCH SHORTLY THROUGH THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

3. SMITH SAID HE WAS PLEASED THAT WE HAD BEEN WORKING
ON THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS BUT URGED US TO GIVE EQUAL
ATTENTION TO THE BRITISH. I TOLD HIM WE WOULD STAY
IN CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH THEM. HE WAS TOUCHED BY
THE SECRETARY'S PERSONAL GREETINGS AND RECIPROCATED
THEM.

4. GIVEN THE FACT THAT TIME WAS SHORT, I TOLD THE
PRIME MINISTER I WOULD CONTACT HIS DELEGATION AND
OBTAIN A MORE EXTENSIVE ELABORATION OF RHODESIAN
VIEWS. SMITH QUICKLY AGREED AND THIS MORNING,
DECEMBER 13, I CALLED ON VAN DER BYL, PARTRIDGE,
GAYLARD AND WADDINGTON. I ASKED THE RHODESIANS
TO SPELL OUT WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER MEANT WHEN HE
REFERRED TO HIS PALNS DURING THE RECESS. GAYLARD
REPLIED SAYING THAT IT WAS THE PRIME MINISTER'S
INTENTION TO MARSHALL "MODERATE" BLACK OPINION IN
RHODESIA AND TO ORGANIZE IT INTO A COUNTERBALANCING
POLITICAL BODY. HE REFERRED TO BLACK BUSINESSMEN,
TRIBAL BHIEFS, PROFESSIONALS AND CIVIL SERVANTS IN
THIS RESPECT. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE RHODESIANS
INTENDED TO STAY IN TOUCH WITH SECOND ECHELON FIGURES
IN SEVERAL OF THE NATIONALISTS DELEGATIONS - PARTICULARLY
THE MUZOREWA GROUP. GAYLARD NOTED THAT THERE WERE
SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF MODERATE BLACKS WHO SUPPORTED
ONE OR THE OTHER OF THE GENEVA NATIONALIST DELEGATIONS
BUT DO SO THROUGH A LACK OF CHOICE. HE DID NOT SAY,
AS SMITH TOLD RICHARD (GENEVA 9867) THAT SMITH
WOULD SUGGEST A "MODERATE" GROUPING BE
PRESENT AT THE NEXT ROUND OF THE CONFERENCE.

5. VAN DER BYL PICKED UP THE ARGUMENT AND REMINDED
ME THAT THE RHODESIANS SEE NO HOPE WHATSOEVER IN
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COMING TO TERMS WITH "TERRORISTS" LIKE MUGABE AND
SITHOLE. "IT SIMPLY WILL NOT HAPPEN", AND HE QUESTIONED
THE VALUE OF CONTINUING TO GIVE INDIVIDUALS LIKE
THESE AN INTERNATIONAL PLATFORM FROM WHICH TO ADVANCE
THEIR EXTREMIST VIEWS. NKOMO, HE SAID, HAD
LOST GROUND IN RHODESIA BECAUSE OF HIS DALLIANCE WITH
MUGABE. "MUZOREWA IS A SQUIT." IF RHODESIA WAS
TO STAY IN THE "WESTERN" CAMP, NEW LEADERSHIP HAD

TO EMERGE. MUZOREWA MIGHT BE INCLUDED. IF THE RHODESIANS ARE SUCCESSFUL IN ORGANIZING A BROADLY-BASED POPULAR GOVERNMENT, THE RHODESIANS FELT SURE THAT RECRUITMENT FOR THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS WOULD DRY UP AND RHODESIA WOULD BE ABLE TO SURVIVE AND MAINTAIN ITS WESTERN ORIENTATION. VAN DER BYL URGED THAT WE SUPPORT SUCH A SETTLEMENT, REFERRING TO MY CONVERSATION OF DECEMBER 9 WITH SMITH, I TOLD VAN DER BYL SETTLEMENT WHICH DID NOT CARRY THE MAJORITY OF THE DELEGATIONS PRESENT IN GENEVA WAS NOT IN OUR INTERESTS. WE WERE DETERMINED TO AVOID THE KIND OF FACTIONAL STRIFE WHICH HAD DESTROYED ANGOLA.

6. GAYLARD PICKED UP THE THEME OF BRITAIN'S RESUMING RESPONSIBILITIES IN RHODESIA AND HE, JOINED BY HIS TWO MINISTERS, HARSHLY CHARACTERIZED THIS APPROACH. ALL RHODESIANS, THEY ARGUED, HAVE A PROFOUND MISTRUST OF BRITAIN WHICH HAS KEPT "ONLY HALF-PROMISES FOR BETTER THAN 30 YEARS." IF BRITAIN ENTERS THE PICTURE, GAYLARD SAID, MODERATE AFRICANS WILL REMAIN SILENT BECAUSE OF THEIR FEAR OF INTIMIDATION. LESS I MISS THE POINT, PARTRIDGE ADDED THAT ALTHOUGH THE SITUATION IN RHODESIA WAS "CRITICAL," THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT WAS DETERMINED TO FIGHT RATHER THAN SURRENDER RHODESIAN LIBERTY.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 9872

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7. GAYLARD POINTED OUT THAT RICHARD HAD MENTIONED

THE POSSIBILITY OF SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY DURING THE RECESS. THE US SHOULD UNDERSTANT THAT THR RHODESIAND DO NOT WANT TO BE CUT OUT OF THE CONSULTATIONS, NOR DO THEY WANT A SETTLEMENT NEGOTIATED WITH THE NATIONALISTS AND THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS WHICH WOULD BE PRESENTED TO THEM AS A FAIT ACCOMPLI. "WE MUST BE CONSULTED FIRST", SAID GAYLARD. I REMINDED HIM THAT WE WOULD BE IN CONTACT SHORTLY THROUGH THE SOUTH AFRICANS. GAYLARD REPLIED THAT HE HOPED WE WOULD USE THE HAWKINS-BOWDLER CHANNEL. HE SEEMED READY TO CRITICIZE OUR GOING THROUGH THE SOUTHJ AFRICANS BUT STOPPED SHORT AND SIMPLY SAID IT WOULD BE HARD TO WORK THROUGH THE SOUTH AFRICANS SINCE THEY ALL TAKE "LONG CHRISTMAN HOLIDAYS." GAYLARD ADDED THAT THE RHODESIANS EXPECTED RICHARD TO VISIT THEM IN SALISBURY. SMITH HAD REFUSED TO MEET ROWLANDS AND DUFF IN PRETORIA AND HE WOULD NOT MEET RICHARD OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY.

8. GAYLARD SAID HIS GOVERNMENT HAD MANY DIFFICULTIES WITH GENEVA AND PREFERRED THE CONFERENCE NOT REASSEMBLE HERE. THE RHODESIANS WOULD PREFER THE NEXT ROUND TAKE PLACE IN LONDON OR WASHINGTON. NAIROBI WAS OUT BECAUSE THERE SECURITY COULD NOT BE ASSURED. I TOLD GAYLARD THAT WHILE WE
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RECOGNIZED THE PROBLEMS WHICH GENEVA PRESENTED, ANY OTHER SITE WOULD BE CONTENTIOUS AND VALUABLE TIME COULD BE WASTED DURING THE RECESS DEBATING A NEW VENUE. GENEVA HAS LEGITIMACY, I SAID, AND SINCE WE ALL WANT A SETTLEMENT TO BE NEGOTIATED, WE MIGHT AS WELL USE THIS CITY. GAYLARD TOOK MY POINT AND APPEARED TO BE MAKING HIS CASE FOR THE RECORD. AS I WAS LEAVING, I ASKED GAYLARD WHY SMITH HAD RETURNED TO GENEVA AND LEFT AGAIN SO QUICKLY. GAYLARD REFLECTED, AND THEN SAID THAT SMITH HAD WANTED TO PERSONALLY ASSESS THE SITUATION HERE AND BRING THE FULL WEIGHT OF HIS PERSONALITY TO BEAR ON THE BRITISH IN ORDER TO REMIND THEM THAT HE HAD AGREED TO PROPOSALS WHICH SIMPLY COULD NOT BE CAST ASIDE. HAVING MADE THAT POINT, SMITH WAS READY TO RETURN TO SALISBURY WHERE HE HAD PRESSING COMMITMENTS.

9. COMMENT: IT IS DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE PRECISELY HOW SMITH INTENDS TO PROCEED. HE CERTAINLY CAME TO GENEVA TO MAKE A POINT, BUT HE AND HIS DELEGATION INDICATED TO ME AND THE BRITISH THAT WOULD LOOK AT ALTERNATIVES. EVEN THOUGH I FEEL CONFIDENT MUZOREWA WILL NOT PLAY BALL, WE SHOULD EXPECT THE

RHODESIANS TO TRY TO ORGANIZE AN AFRICAN POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE AND EVEN PRESS FOR ITS INCLUSION IN THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. ORGANIZING WHAT SMITH AND HIS FELLOWS CALL MODERATES IS CERTAIN TO PROVOKE NATIONALIST ANTIPATHY AND EVEN IF SMITH IS SUCCESSFUL IN FINDING AFRICANS WHO ARE WILLING TO TAKE THESE RISKS, THE EFFORT WILL DISRUPT THE NEGOTIATIONS.

10. SMITH IS KEEPING HIS REAL VIEWS TO HIMSELF BUT IS LETTING HIS DELEGATION CONTINUE TO STAND BEHIND THEIR DEEPLY FELT, HARD-LINE OPINIONS. IF THE RHODESIANS CONDUCT THEIR NEGOTIATIONS IN THE FUTURE AS THEY HAVE IN THE PAST, WE WILL NOT HAVE AN INDICATION OF HOW THEY WILL REACT TO NEW APPROACHES UNTIL THE PROPOSALS ARE PRESENTED TO THEM. I HAVE NO IMPRESSION THAT THE RHODESIANS ARE SO EAGER FOR A SETTLEMENT THAT THEY WILL EASILY ACCEPT A
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MAJOR ALTERATION OF THE ORIGINAL PROPOSALS. DISPIRITED AS HE MAY LOOK, SMITH IS NOT IN A CONSILIATORY FRAME OF MIND AND HIS REPRESENTATIVES IN GENEVA ARE LESS SO. CATTO

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INDEPENDENCE, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976GENEVA09872
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840099-0751
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761249/aaaabqhq.tel
Line Count: 251
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 76 GENEVA 9867
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17 MAY 2004 by woolflhd>; APPROVED <07 SEP 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: DEC 12 MEETING WITH IAN SMITH
TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, PEPR, RH, UK, (SMITH, IAN)
To: STATE LONDON
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006